

# Venture

JOURNAL OF THE FABIAN COLONIAL BUREAU

VOL. 8 No. 5

OCTOBER, 1956

MONTHLY 6d

## LOST OPPORTUNITY IN CYPRUS

IN the middle of August, George Grivas, the EOKA leader, ordered his followers to suspend their operations. This was the start of an eleven-day truce in Cyprus, the first peaceful interlude for eighteen months. The haunting fear of terrorism was lifted from the island. Irksome security restrictions were removed, open-air cafés and cinemas were packed again, and British soldiers were able to leave their camps and enjoy themselves with friendly Cypriots in the towns. Sir John Harding said the situation might be "a turning point in the history of Cyprus." But no one could be certain whether the truce order would be obeyed or countermanded. It was, therefore, not unreasonable for the authorities to wait for two or three weeks before deciding whether a new situation had arisen.

It is at this point that a fatal mistake was made. What could have been, and what was intended by the EOKA leader to be, an opportunity for conciliation and a negotiated settlement, was thrown away by the determination of the Government to use the truce as a means of crushing the rebels. The authorities refused to wait. Instead of announcing that, if the truce proved genuine, talks would start with Archbishop Makarios, and there would be a further relaxation of emergency regulations, the Governor published his terms for the surrender of EOKA. It was immediately clear to everyone that what the Government wanted was not a negotiated settlement, but unconditional surrender. The guerilla fighters were to come in with their arms, and would then have a choice between return to Greece, if Greece would receive them, and indefinite detention in Cyprus. Only those who could be charged with crimes of violence against the person would be prosecuted. The EOKA reply to this offer was, "Come and take us," and a threat to end the truce.

The first and most fatal mistake had been not to use the suspension of violence to try again for a political settlement, which the Government had always said was impossible so long as violence continued. The second mistake was an error of military judgment, possibly based on faulty intelligence, which led the authorities to believe that the guerillas were so near defeat that they would surrender unconditionally. For not only have the EOKA bands not come in with their arms, but their leader has ended the truce, and violence is rife again.

Faced with a position in which murder and arson would start again in Cyprus, and the blame for this be placed on those who had refused to use the truce for opening negotiations, the Government decided to publish extracts from the captured diaries of the EOKA leader. These extracts were intended to show that Archbishop Makarios was the leader of the terrorist movement. The object of the manoeuvre was to place the blame for renewed violence squarely on EOKA, by proving that the Archbishop was a traitor with whom no self-respecting Government could negotiate. The authenticity of the diaries has been denied in Greece and Cyprus. Legal proceedings would be required to establish proof, but the Government is afraid to try the Archbishop. I think it is probable the diaries are genuine. The disclosure of their contents makes it plain that the Government does not intend to discuss or negotiate the new constitution with Archbishop Makarios. This action of the Government is further evidence that it is more interested in its own prestige than in ending the conflict in Cyprus. For we are now even worse off than before the truce, having to face the increased bitterness of the Cypriot population, which blames us for the return of terrorism.



In the Cyprus debate last week Mr. Lennox-Boyd announced the Government's instructions to Lord Radcliffe about the framing of a new constitution. The only change in policy is the intention to reserve internal security, as well as foreign policy and defence, permanently for the United Kingdom. This goes back on the offer made to the Archbishop in the spring, which gave the Governor responsibility for internal security until he decided to transfer it. The new proposal on self-government for Cyprus deprives the Radcliffe constitution of any chance of acceptance.

Indeed, what has happened in the last month over Suez and Cyprus makes one doubt whether the Government wishes to negotiate, and does not prefer to impose its will. It is clear that the Cabinet is dominated by a group of cynical and misguided men who believe that force, or threats of force, are a legitimate instrument of national policy. This cynical doctrine was at the root of two world wars. We must get back to the spirit as well as the letter of the Charter of the United Nations. This is an issue that far transcends party politics, for it touches the conscience of every responsible man and woman. The good name of our country, the lives of our young people, unity and peace throughout the Commonwealth, are at stake. Our difficulties in Cyprus will not be resolved until the public succeeds in tracing them back to the underlying motives of British policy.

**LISTOWEL**

## **GOVERNOR OF UGANDA**

**V**IEWED from any angle, the governorship of Sir Andrew Cohen has been the most memorable in the history of Uganda. The drama of the expulsion and the return of the Kabaka was played on the world stage. But simultaneously, and largely undisturbed by the political crisis in Buganda, a great impetus has come from Government House during the past five years towards the general economic, political and educational development of the country.

Under the leadership of Sir Andrew Cohen, Uganda has demonstrated what can be achieved in a few short years, given ability, determination and vision. Fundamental principles to be followed in economic development were affirmed in February, 1954; no colour bar in industry; a technical training programme to make it possible for Africans to play an increasingly important part in mining and industry; local participation in the financing of industrial development. Co-operatives have been given every encouragement and, through Government assistance, co-operative marketing unions have been able to take a share

in the ginning of cotton and the curing of coffee. Africanisation of the civil service has been given an impetus by the granting of overseas scholarships to enable Africans to qualify for senior appointments. Education has been re-organised on all levels including a remarkable expansion of teacher-training. Uganda was the first East African territory to recognise the importance of adult education and to appoint an Extra-Mural Tutor. Local government has been consolidated and community development, including the training of women, has been financed from the centre. Even at moments of extreme emotional tension, Africans still recognised that Sir Andrew Cohen was doing a magnificent job and, after a short period of difficulty following the return of the Kabaka, the opinion grew that he should be asked to stay on. This was supported not only by Congress politicians, but also by progressive opinion among Europeans and Asians.

The Colonial Office, however, thought otherwise. Sir Andrew goes to the United Nations and in his place comes Sir Frederick Crawford, Deputy Governor of Kenya. To transfer from Kenya to Uganda is in itself a severe initial handicap in winning Uganda confidence. In the next few years the protectorate has to be led through the shoals towards responsible government. The psychological relationship between Government House and politically conscious people, at protectorate and local level, is all-important, and brisk administration will have to be strengthened by deeper qualities if the new Governor is to be accepted as a moral leader, which is what Uganda needs at a moment when principles of government are being so vigorously debated. There will be direct elections for the first time in 1958 for some members of the next Legislative Council and probably for all the elected members by 1961. Whether there is to be a federal or a unitary constitution is far from settled. The economic drive, carried on the crest of high prices for coffee and cotton, may have to slow down.

Meanwhile in Buganda politics there have been some curious retrogressive trends. The proposed distribution of public land to 'deserving persons' was abandoned, after a popular outcry, but the Lukiko declined to submit itself to direct election, although it endorsed such elections to the central legislature. The dislike of Africans for the Asians remains acute, though the outgoing Governor has tried to keep a fair balance. But public discussion is lively and in spite of African 'localism' there is an encouraging interchange of views among the politically conscious of all races. Uganda is a country about which one can feel hopeful. One trusts that the incoming Governor will sense the climate of opinion quickly and will show genuine



sympathy with local aspirations, in what has been officially designated 'primarily an African state.'

## CORRUPTION IN THE GOLD COAST

LET it be said right at the beginning that corruption in the Gold Coast is not a consequence of self-government—indeed we published in June 1947 an editorial under precisely the same title which referred to mismanagement and corruption in a Government Department, in which two British officials and an 'expatriate' firm were involved. We would add that we also commented unfavourably on the reaction of those West Africans who think corruption is bad if practised by outsiders but excusable if the culprits are African nationalists. Corruption may be explained: it can never be excused. We need say no more about the Gold Coast Government's disingenuous reply on this aspect of the Report of the Jibowu Commission of Inquiry into the affairs of the Cocoa Purchasing Company Ltd<sup>1</sup>. Far more important are the Government's proposals for the future. The requirement that accounts must in future be promptly and regularly furnished and the decision to give the Legislative Assembly, and particularly the Opposition, adequate opportunity to debate the reports of statutory corporations are welcome, but long overdue. The decision to deprive the Cocoa Purchasing Company of power to make loans to cocoa farmers and to establish an Agricultural Credit Board will be useful only if the new board is not corrupt. Similarly, Ministers will be able to prevent a repetition of the shocking record of the C.P.C. if they are given power to give detailed as well as general directions to public corporations, and if they use them. But the Government has failed to grasp what to us is the salient feature in this whole sorry business. The Jibowu Report has shown that Ministers were aware of what was going on, but failed to stop it. The Opposition in the Gold Coast pressed over and over again for an inquiry, which was refused. From the very beginning the Gold Coast Co-operatives objected to the favourable treatment and financial subsidy accorded to the C.P.C. and asked for similar encouragement to be given to them; as early as April 1953 Mr. Frank Beswick was pressing the Co-operative claim on the floor of the House of Commons; but the Gold Coast Government did not move. The C.P.C. was widely regarded as the creature of the Convention People's Party—an allegation that the Gold Coast Government denies but that the Jibowu Commission supports. How, then are anxieties removed if the Government's control over all statu-

tory corporations is to be increased? At the root of the whole matter is the question of what kind of democracy the people of the Gold Coast want. If new bodies under Government control are to compete with existing bodies such as co-operative organisations, that is fair enough and can be beneficial. But if these in turn are actually under party control, and if they are given a privileged position, the only result can be the stifling of the voluntary associations on which free government rests. The Convention People's Party sometimes claims to be a Socialist party. Its leaders are the elected leaders of the Gold Coast and as such are entitled to respect. In the light of the Jibowu Report (which we confess, has come, as no surprise to us) we would ask them in all sincerity whether it is their intention to proceed on totalitarian or democratic socialist lines? The welfare of the ordinary people of the Gold Coast, for whom they have done so much, hangs on a frank answer.

## A CARIBBEAN FEDERAL PARTY

THE formation of a federal party in the British Caribbean, as recently announced, is a move that will be welcomed by all who wish the region success in its attempt, which will begin in 1958, to establish a new Commonwealth nation through federation. But the young party is doubly welcome to Socialists because it is of their creed. Mr. James Griffiths, the deputy leader of the Labour Party, was in, if not at the birth, at least at the christening in St. Lucia, one of the Windward Islands, and he brought the substantial gift of £5,000 in addition to fraternal greetings.

The principal figures in the party include Mr. Norman Manley, the Chief Minister of Jamaica, Mr. Grantley Adams, the Premier of Barbados, and most of the other politicians who have been associated with the post-war nationalist movement in the area. Notable absentees are Mr. Albert Gomes, of Trinidad, and Sir Alexander Bustamante. These two are absent for the excellent reason that they are not, at bottom, of the same persuasion, and one of the beneficial results of the emergence of a federal party with a clearly defined programme will, it is hoped, be a stabilisation of Caribbean political attitudes and nomenclature. Sir Alexander is still at the head of the Jamaican Labour Party, an organisation displaying an ambivalence throughout its career which must have puzzled many observers. The new Federal Socialist party should iron out the creases once and for all. Its birth may have the secondary effect also of enforcing greater discipline on political groupings in Trinidad. Even Dr. Eric Williams, the latest comer to Trinidad platforms, did not declare at once for the federal party.

<sup>1</sup> Government Printing Dept. (Publications Branch). Accra. 5s. 6d.



# Anti-Climax on the Volta

By THOMAS BALOGH, Fellow of Balliol College

THE economic policy of the Gold Coast Government of sterilising a large part of the post-war windfall for cocoa producers has been the butt of fierce attacks by both laissez-faire economists and political mischief-makers. Yet this windfall was obviously the only visible source from which a development programme could be financed. The Gold Coast, moreover, had one marked advantage over many other poor areas. It had a great river which was well fitted for large-scale production of hydro-electric power.

A multi-purpose dam providing cheap energy and regular irrigation could obviously transform the economic landscape in more directions than one. And the Gold Coast was blessed by having large deposits of bauxite near by. Thus the production of aluminium was one of the more obvious industrial projects, but by no means the only one, or perhaps even the most attractive. Indeed, as early as 1924, when the American, Russian, Canadian or Indian dams had not been dreamed about, this very possibility was under active consideration. By the outbreak of war in 1939 a pretty thorough investigation had been undertaken. This was repeated after the war and from 1948 onwards there was a flow of favourable reports. And finally after discussion a Preparatory Commission was set up by the U.K. and Gold Coast Governments to go into some of the legal and economic problems with all possible speed.

## Expensive Delay

Speed of course was the essence of the exercise: though the demand for aluminium was growing, so was aluminium production, and in the period just before setting up the Commission the cost of construction and plant was also rapidly rising.

The Preparatory Commission unfortunately did not have any competent economist. Consequently it disregarded all general economic commonsense and decided not merely to repeat most of the consulting engineers' work that had been done in the past, but also to undertake researches into esoteric sociological and administrative questions such as background booklets to be issued to overseas staff on recruitment. No doubt someone needs to investigate these matters—sometimes. But they are hardly topics for the elucidation of which it is worth endangering the future of a project of such importance to the Gold Coast. The Preparatory Commission's performance has been pitiable. Despite the terrible delay caused it could not narrow the possible margin of error appreciably: the extreme difference of its estimates for a unit of electricity is still between 0.139 and 0.361 pence, i.e., over 260 per cent. Construction costs have risen by some 10 per cent since it began its work almost four years ago, while interest rates have risen sharply by some

25-30 per cent. If the project is still profitable now, it could have been a *bonanza* a few years ago.

Ominous rumours are rife about the prospects for the smelter. The Aluminium Companies are said to be considering the import of bauxite from Jamaica, which would further reduce the gain to the Gold Coast, and demanding a subsidised fixed long-term contract for electricity. As aluminium prices have risen more than costs, this is difficult to understand. It is explicable only by the fact that the Preparatory Commission though it had been set up by the Governments and not by the Aluminium Companies did not investigate any alternative large-scale possibilities of using the power of the Volta, despite the fact that the Gold Coast Government has been forced to increase thermal capacity very substantially and there is some talk of a second hydro-electric station further upstream which would be far costlier. Consequently the Gold Coast Government was left, incomprehensibly, in a very weak bargaining position relative to the aluminium monopoly.

## Alternatives Not Discussed

Indeed, the only general economic consideration in favour of the scheme which is put forward by the Commission is an *obiter dictum* by Professor Lewis quoted out of context, according to which aluminium production would 'earn twice as much per worker employed as cocoa.' This is, of course, a completely meaningless comparison as cocoa production does not demand the investment of £30,000 per worker employed. It is regrettable that Professor Lewis has not demanded the publication of his report, which must at an early date have called attention to the dangers of postponing decision and to the need for a thorough vetting of alternative uses for the power. It is still not too late for Professor Lewis to release his critical appreciation of the work of the Preparatory Commission, though it would have saved much time, opportunity and money had he done so a couple of years ago.

He must equally have opposed (or if he has not he ought to have done so) the extraordinary notion of the Commission to minimise the impact of the scheme on the economy of the Gold Coast by extreme mechanisation and the lavish import of material. Hardly any of the colossal total is to be permitted to have an invigorating and stimulating influence on the Coast. As a large industrialisation programme ought of course to follow the constructive phase of the scheme (which demands more workers than its operation) a maximum increase of employment at higher wages ought to have been the aim—at any rate where geographic conditions

(Continued on page 10)



# Workers in Fiji

By **NAND KISHOR**, President of the Fiji Sugar Workers' Union

**I**N the South-Western Pacific there is a group of islands known as the colony of Fiji. Only rarely are there reports in the British press as to what is happening to these faraway people and for the most part the islands are associated with the tropical beauty of coral reefs and palm trees and the fine record of the Fijian forces in Malaya. They were first discovered by Captain Cook in 1774, but it was given to Captain Bligh of H.M.S. Bounty to record the islands. In 1874, when the country was on the verge of bankruptcy and the people were being badly exploited by the plantation settlers, the paramount chiefs signed a deed of cession to Britain.

The population is now estimated as 333,000, of which 48 per cent. are Indians and 43 per cent. Fijians. The trade and commerce of the colony depends on four industries, sugar, copra, gold and bananas, in that order. Indians were first brought to the colony in 1879 as indentured labour to work on the sugar plantations. The Government of India, having received a report on the evils of the indentured system, abolished it in 1917.

Cane-growing is almost entirely in the hands of the Indians and two-thirds of them derive their livelihood, either directly or indirectly, from the sugar industry. Until 1939, when the Fiji Sugar Industry Employees' Association was organised, there was no machinery of negotiation through which the workers could make known their grievances to the employers. It was an uphill task to educate the workers to understand that their problems would not be solved immediately by the payment of subscriptions. But, by 1945, annual conferences between the officers of the Association and the Colonial Sugar Refining Company had been established.

In addition to 24,000 regular wage earners, there are seasonal or casual workers, who divide their time between the cultivation of their own land and working on the sugar and copra estates. There is no migrant labour. Half of the copra (valued at approximately £3m.) and all the bananas (about £400,000) are produced by Fijians on their own land.

There is practically no unemployment, as small-scale economic development has been sufficient to absorb the increase in the wage-earning population. Few women are employed outside domestic service and the number of wage-earners under 18 is only 495. Fifteen years is the statutory minimum age for employment in industry, although exceptions can be made in cases approved and supervised by the Director of Education or one of his officers.

Unskilled labourers are paid from 8s. to 12s. a day, semi-skilled and skilled workers vary between 8s. and 50s. The working day is eight hours, in some industries a 44-48-hour week. All industrial and commercial workers are entitled by law to an annual holiday of six working days plus public holidays.

The trade unions are concerned with a number of questions that affect the standard of living and well-

being of the worker. Education is expensive and labourers are usually unable to afford school fees, consequently a very large proportion of school children leave at 12 or 13 when they have barely acquired a rudimentary education. There are around 10,000 children, mostly Indians, for whom there are no educational facilities. The situation could be improved by the provision of free and compulsory education up to post-primary level. It is compulsory only for Fijian children from 6 to 14 years.

## Education and Health

Technical education is almost non-existent and there are only two institutions which provide some sort of agricultural education; consequently most students look for white-collar jobs. Europeans attend separate schools. If the colony is to develop on democratic lines, all three races should attend the same schools. There is no vocational training, although its importance to industry cannot be over-emphasised.

There are too few first aid centres available to labourers. Only the Colonial Sugar Refining Company provides hospital accommodation for workers. Government hospitals are too few and scattered over wide areas, and the charges are too high for labourers. A public health service could be organised if a hospital tax were imposed on industrial firms to pay for the medical care of workers and their dependants. Water supplies are totally inadequate; at least two-thirds of the population are drinking impure water. There is widespread malnutrition because the workers depend too much on imported goods and cannot afford to buy nourishing food. More land should be made available for growing food crops and there should be better utilisation of land.

A committee has been set up to investigate the low standard of workers' houses. Some employers provide their labourers with houses which are hardly fit for human habitation. Some labourers build their own houses, which are equally deplorable. Government or industry should provide decent housing at cheap rents or provide assistance to the workers to acquire houses. The labourers also need land for food crops and to afford some security.

The Unions are very concerned with the lack of care of labourers in their old age. They are dismissed by the employers, they have no land to fall back on and there is no provision for their families. Some scheme is urgently necessary.

The resources of the colony are insufficient to tackle the existing social problems. The ten-year development plan for the colony, 1949-1960, includes a contribution of just over £2m. from Colonial Development and Welfare Funds, while the colony is raising £4½m. from its own resources. A more generous attitude on the part of the U.K. would be of great help in giving the people of Fiji a more civilised standard of living.



# THE GROWING CRISIS

LORD MALVERN'S request to the British Government for what he described as 'technical Dominion status' for the Central African Federation has highlighted the African dissatisfaction that has been rapidly mounting in Central Africa. It will inevitably intensify the fear felt by Africans in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland since Federation was imposed that Central Africa would become a dominion and that, deprived of Colonial Office protection, they would fall under a native policy similar to that of Southern Rhodesia.

The Federation is, of course, not responsible for the way Southern Rhodesia treats its African population, but Mr. Garfield Todd, the Prime Minister of S. Rhodesia, recently appealed for a uniform native policy in the Federal area, intensifying African fears. When confidence between the races is of the greatest importance, nothing could have been more ill-advised than some of Lord Malvern's comments in the Federal Assembly debate on the refusal by the U.K. of his request for constitutional advance. Thus '... we have complete control of our own defence force. I only hope we shall not have to use it as the North American colonies had to use theirs, because we are dealing with a stupid Government in the United Kingdom.'

The present constitution, which came into being only three years ago, provided that it should be reviewed after not less than seven and not more than nine years. Even if race relations in Central Africa were very much better than they are, it would be unconstitutional to make a change now. Lord Malvern and his associates have largely themselves to blame if Africans attach no importance to his explanation that the proposal did not touch the powers reserved to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in the territorial affairs of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The encroachment of the Federal Government on territorial rights is instanced in the Northern Rhodesia (Native Reserves) (Amendment) Order in Council, 1955, which allows land in the Reserves to be acquired for Federal public corporations. Mr. John Rankin, M.P., drew attention to this in the House of Commons in May this year.<sup>1</sup> During the debates on Federation in the House of Commons in 1952, Mr. Lyttelton gave specific assurances that the 'public purposes' for which the Federal Government might take land north of the Zambesi were limited to such things as 'the laying of a pipe-line, erecting a line of telegraph poles or pylons.'

Lord Malvern's request for independence was, as Mr. Doig said in the Federal Assembly, 'provocative and unnecessary'. Although it was rebuffed by the U.K. Government, Africans await

the British counter-proposals with anxiety. Inevitably the pressure of white Rhodesians for dominion status intensifies African nationalism.

African M.P.s and leaders in both Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia have recently been subjected to particularly bitter attacks by European politicians and in August the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council went so far as to carry a motion to investigate the 'constitution, aims and motives' of the Congress in that territory. Do the Europeans aim to drive African politicians underground? The consequences of that elsewhere should be too well known. In fact the case for recognising the Congress as an official body is stronger now than ever before. Previously it was denigrated as not representing any considerable number of Africans, but Mr. Harry Franklin, Member for Education and Social Services, said in July that it now has 'between 60 per cent. and 80 per cent. support among Africans in the towns and a good deal of support in some rural areas, though little in others.'

## Pressure from Southern Rhodesia

Moreover, in recent months the Congress has given impressive evidence of its strength and organisation by an almost complete boycott of Indian and European shops in towns throughout Rhodesia, in protest against racial discrimination. It is apparent that Congress support is no longer confined to Lusaka and the Copperbelt. The folly of denying it recognition was underlined by the important decision of the Mufulira resident magistrate who, in July, acquitted four officials of the Congress on charges, arising out of the boycott, of conspiracy to injure European traders. The Magistrate stated that he had no hesitation in saying the boycotters had sufficient reason for their action in the grievances of the African consumer and that there was no evidence that the boycott had been organised to force recognition of Congress. The result of the trial must have added greatly to the Congress's prestige among the African population: to arraign Congress now is a measure of the bankruptcy of the N. Rhodesian Government's policy, and may well be the result of the pressure that Southern Rhodesia has been exerting.

The Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesian Congresses are being attacked from another direction. In the last few months, four of their leaders have been prohibited from remaining in Southern Rhodesia, and African trade union leaders in Northern Rhodesia have also been prevented from meeting their counterparts in Southern Rhodesia.

The new Federal Civil Service Bill establishes four branches for the civil service and the top one

<sup>1</sup>Hansard, 2nd May, 1956, col. 392.



# N CENTRAL AFRICA

will at present, inevitably, be entirely European; non-European doctors are eligible but at present they do not exist. The structure provides for movement from one branch to another, regardless of race, but this will be of only academic interest to Africans until much more is spent on their education and they can qualify for senior posts. Their prospects are perhaps best indicated by the fact that, in Northern Rhodesia, more money is spent on the police force than on African education.

The N. Rhodesian Government has not yet taken action on the report of the committee which was set up to investigate racial discrimination in shops and other businesses and which recommended the creation of a statutory race relations board to implement the policy of removing discrimination on the ground of race alone. And the social bar remains. Mr. Gordon Lewanika, President of the Mines African Staff Association, and one of the most moderate of N. Rhodesian African leaders, emphasised when he was in London recently that the social colour bar inhibits educated Africans from co-operating with Europeans. Unless Europeans made concessions, he said, moderate African opinion would be discouraged. Since then, Sir Roy Welensky has announced that 'well-dressed and properly behaved' Africans travelling first and second class on the Federal railway will not be refused meals in the dining-cars. This has been publicised as a generous advance, but to Africans the term used must sound offensive.

The two big issues which will test the sincerity of European intentions are the proposed Federal franchise and citizenship bills. The prospect for liberal provisions in either are not good. It was disquieting to read in the Kenya Weekly News<sup>2</sup> a few weeks ago that 'it is generally accepted' that the Federal Government's franchise proposals will take the form which Lord Malvern tentatively suggested last March, but which was later disowned as a statement of Government policy. This is the system of two multi-racial 'common rolls,' an upper roll with very high qualifications to elect most members of the Federal Parliament and a 'lower roll' to elect one-quarter to one-third. These would of course in practice be communal rolls with Europeans on the upper one and nearly all Africans on the lower. If this device is in fact put forward by the Government it should be vigorously opposed. The number of African representatives in the Federal Parliament (at present two Africans and one European from each of the three territories) is a Federal matter, not subject to U.K. action; but we should demand that the N. Rhodesia and Nyasaland representatives be elected, instead of nominated, on a communal roll with adult franchise, and that the

Africans of the Northern territories should be able to retain their 'protected person' status without losing their voting rights.

In Northern Rhodesia, where the vote is confined to British **subjects** over 21 with certain financial qualifications, Africans are disfranchised because they are not British subjects, but British **Protected Persons**. The high property qualifications and the insistence that a would-be voter must surrender his B.P.P. status and pay £5 to become a British subject has successfully deterred Africans from acquiring the franchise; even if they can afford the high fee, Africans are reluctant to surrender the 'protection' value of B.P.P. status. The fee of £5 should be very much reduced, but independently of this the vote should be given to British Protected Persons as to British subjects. Adult status and Standard VI education are appropriate qualifications for registration on African and non-African communal rolls and the parity of Africans and non-Africans in the Legislative Council should be the next objective. In Nyasaland also, the case is clear for parity of African and non-African representation and for elections on a communal roll to replace indirect election. But even this degree of acceptance of the communal principle in the legislatures and the franchise should be clearly stated to be of a transitory nature only. The ultimate objective must be the common roll.

## Strong Arm Methods

A series of unprecedented moves by the Europeans has to be weighed up against the background of widespread African discontent and the refusal of the British Government to grant 'technical Dominion status.' Lord Malvern, in a bitter attack,<sup>3</sup> has denounced the whole principle of Colonial Office rule, irrespective of what government is in power in Britain. Also, the Federal Government has decided to call a joint meeting of the four Central African governments 'to discuss improved constitutional status for the Federation and improved security measures, including a Federal police force.' In Northern Rhodesia, the Government has resorted to the extreme measure of declaring a state of emergency in a trade union dispute, action normally taken only when the state is threatened as it was in Kenya and Malaya. All these moves appear to be part of a pattern. The conclusion is inescapable that, in face of the rising tide of African nationalism, the Europeans are seeking increased powers from the British Government to maintain white supremacy.

MARY WINCHESTER

<sup>2</sup>Kenya Weekly News, 31st August, page 22.

<sup>3</sup>The Times, 14th September, 1956



# The Gambia To-day

THIS British dependency with its odd shape is a classical example of how Europeans have artificially carved up the African continent—against all the facts of geography and ethnography.

The Gambia is our oldest colony and was established by the Royal Adventurers in 1661. The colony and protectorate consist of a narrow belt on either bank of the Gambia—a very fine waterway never more than seven miles wide; navigable for 180 miles as far as Kuntaur. The land is flat with some low ridges. Soils are poor and sandy, except in the swamps where alluvial soils give the peasants some encouragement. This is a land where the people have been starved for centuries and the 'hungry season' is only now being conquered.

There are about 275,000 people, mostly Moslem. The chief tribe are Mandingo—as in Senegal and the surrounding territory—and an interesting feature is that of the 'strange farmer'. These seasonal immigrants come in from French and Portuguese territories to grow cash crops of groundnuts on the Gambia soils superior to their own. Ethnic homogeneity on both sides of undemarcated frontiers leads to much smuggling, particularly when French Senegal pays more than the Gambia controlled price for groundnuts. In Bathurst, the capital, the coastal creole tends to despise the backward people of the hinterland, just as in Sierra Leone. But the most picturesque people here are the Wolof, who have come from Senegal. Their women do not work in the fields like the Mandingo. They make the men work, and spend much time strolling and gossiping in Bathurst, dressed in colourful, fine clothes and wearing magnificent head-dresses, like their cousins in Dakar.

## Improved Farming

Gambia has been long in the economic doldrums, from which the ill-starred poultry scheme of the Colonial Development Corporation at Yundum was designed to assist escape: but today there is an air of quiet optimism in the Colony, for things seem to be moving. Farming is undergoing a minor revolution. Rice has become a second crop, with thousands of acres now being harvested. To quote the Governor in his Budget Speech: 'The side effects of sufficient food on a people who are learning for the first time that the "hungry season" need not be an integral part of their farming year, are nearly as remarkable as the disappearance of the "hungry season" itself.'

In other words, better fed farmers work harder and increase the cash crop of peanuts! Much of the credit for this agricultural revolution must go to the Colony's enthusiastic young Director of Agriculture, and he plans next to break down the Gambia's dangerous dependence on groundnuts by introducing sugar and tobacco on a large scale.

A new deepwater wharf with 28 feet of water, accommodating the biggest Elder Dempster boats, is now open. The ilmenite mining plant of British Titan Ltd. will be exporting some 300,000 tons this year. There are investigations going on for oil. Last year the 50-bed luxury Atlantic Hotel was opened by

Henry Mahdi, a wealthy Lebanese and member of Executive Council. This means the beginning of a tourist industry for the Gambia; already 'Hunting Clan' air lines make this their night stop instead of Dakar. These developments are encouraging, but they leave untouched the basic problems. The colony is non-viable, and money is lacking for essential social services—education, health and housing. People pour into Bathurst from the Protectorate; building regulations and public health measures are deplorably lax. The town is surrounded by swamp; new sites are difficult to find, slums get worse, and malaria, smallpox, leprosy, meningitis and yellow fever remain endemic. The new Victoria Hospital is now open, with only four doctors and four nursing sisters in charge and there is only one other general hospital in the Protectorate, with one doctor and one sister. The ten health centres and 22 sub-dispensaries must be greatly expanded—one of Gambia's most alarming features is the serious death rate among very young children.

As in all African colonies, social advance depends on better educational facilities. What is being done? My impressions were unfavourable. It is estimated that only 4,000 or about 2 per cent. of the population of the Protectorate are literate. There are about 30 primary schools in the protectorate, having roughly 1,000 pupils for a four-year course, and one so-called secondary modern school. There is the usual lack of teacher-training facilities, and to help meet this the old poultry farm buildings at Yundum were converted for use as a college. A good piece of improvisation was done for £40,000! A keen Principal was got from Mauritius, but he is frustrated by an inadequacy of students with requisite qualifications. In my view, the Director of Education is being hindered by unimaginative administrative colleagues. Bathurst itself, being in the colony, is better off, with four mission secondary schools (500 pupils) giving courses up to school certificate standard. Anyone seeking further education must leave the colony for Achimota, Fourah Bay or the U.K. The whole educational set-up needs overhauling. There is a widespread apprehension that if the people of protectorates like the Gambia, Somaliland or Nyasaland were educated, the next headache for the administrators would be to find them jobs!

Despite all this, the Gambia is advancing politically, and has an articulate national movement, which looks to the British Labour Movement for inspiration and guidance. The liberal 1954 constitution provided for three African Ministers, though one was sacked by the Governor during my visit. Of the other two, Garba Jahumpa (Moslem) campaigns for integration with the U.K. on the Maltese model, while John Faye, a Christian clergyman, thinks in terms of a future Federation of West Africa.

Whatever may be the future status of the Gambia, financial help will be needed and the U.K. Government will have to find the money.

JAMES JOHNSON M.P.



# EAST AFRICA ROYAL COMMISSION REPORT

## Summary of White Paper\*

WHEN the Report of the Royal Commission on Land and Population in East Africa was published in June, 1955, it was agreed that the Governments of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika should examine their policies in the light of the Commission's recommendations and should each address a despatch on the subject to the Secretary of State. These despatches have now been received and the purpose of the White Paper is to draw attention to some of the more significant findings of the Governments and to offer comment on them where United Kingdom policy is involved or where these findings are likely to be controversial.

The White Paper begins by drawing attention to two common features in the despatches, the 'wide measure of acceptance both of the Royal Commission's diagnosis of the problems to be solved and of the solution proposed,' and the fact that owing to the time taken to marshal the Commission's evidence and publish its Report, some of the findings have been anticipated, and certain policies and situations which earned criticism already altered. As examples of this it cites the accelerating movement towards individual land-tenure, and the modifications by the Uganda Government of the Marketing Board system.

### Land Tenure

It goes on to say that 'all the Governments agree with the emphasis' which the Commission has placed on the need for a guided revolution in African agricultural methods based on a departure from subsistence farming and the entry of the African cultivator into a modern exchange economy. So that the best use may be made of the available land, the Governments accept the need to encourage the evolution of systems of individual tenure and the encouragement of an attitude to land ownership which recognises its value as a negotiable asset. The Government of Tanganyika point out that the rate at which, and the manner in which, individual tenure evolves does and will continue to vary widely throughout the territory, conditioned both by the degree to which modern techniques of production take hold and the rate at which confidence can be established in novel systems of tenure in the face of the conservatism and alert caution of the African peasant in all matters concerning land. A similar approach is seen in the attitude of the Government of Kenya, which stresses the need for caution in the initiation of measures which could be interpreted as a threat to the security of the native lands before confidence has been gained. . . . In Uganda certain land tenure proposals in conformity with the Commission's recommendations have been published as a basis for discussion, on the results of which policy will eventually be formulated. . . .

'One of the issues in this context which has a special controversial interest is the application of the principles advocated by the Commission to the maintenance of restrictions on the transfer of land between races in the Highlands and Native Land Units of Kenya. This question is fully treated in the Kenya despatch, where, as already noted, the Government advises caution in adopting measures which would be regarded as a threat to established rights. The Commission themselves specified that their proposals were not designed to disturb existing individual property rights but advanced the view that the rigid maintenance of traditional group rights in land would impede the economic mobility essential to the full development of land resources. As the Kenya Government point out such transfer is possible under the law relating to the Highlands, provided that there is a sufficient measure of confidence on the part of the community affected to make such a transfer acceptable to public opinion. In the case of the Native Lands such a question of the transferability of title would only arise once individual tenure and the registration of individual rights has developed beyond the present stage. The Government does not contest the economic argument for the greater negotiability of land, but envisages the attainment of this objective only when it is accepted as realisable by a substantial section of opinion in the community involved.'

'The views of the Commission on the marketing and distribution system have evoked a strong reaction from the Governments. The Commission criticised what they described as the "obsolete conception of self-sufficiency" which appeared to them to inspire the policies of the East African Governments, particularly in regard to food crops and the use of protective devices to encourage local production. The Commission argued that these policies could only result in an uneconomic use of the resources of East Africa by divorcing producers from world markets and by depriving consumers of their freedom of choice. The Commission considered that this conception of self-sufficiency should be replaced by a recognition of the importance of raising the level of incomes. They did not propose that all restrictions and controls should be removed at one stroke; but rather that they should be re-examined with a view to discarding those which served only to perpetuate "self-sufficiency" or to promote only a sectional interest.'

'The despatches from the territorial Governors and from the Administrator explain the objectives of the policies being followed by the East African Governments in this field. While it is true, as the Commission pointed out, that many of the controls had to be imposed because of war time shortages and the strategic need to meet essential requirements within the region during the war, those that survived are designed to achieve broader aims. The policy

\*Cmd. 9804



of the Kenya Government, for example, is to promote a stable and sound agriculture, which by expanding the use of the country's natural resources and broadening the basis of the economy will help to attract capital to the task of economic development. The present low level of the output makes it necessary in particular instances to afford some measure of protection to domestic producers against competition from abroad; but as the economy expands, domestic producers will be more able to stand on their own feet and protective measures will become less necessary. It is as progress in this direction is made that the East African Governments envisage that the restrictions which the Commission criticised will be progressively withdrawn. In order to assist in the practical application of policy in this field, the East African Governments have now established a committee for economic co-ordination, composed of the Ministers concerned with financial and economic questions from the three territories.'

'The Commission proposed the creation of certain economic instruments on an East African basis which have not found favour with the Governments, because it is not considered that they would have the economic advantages claimed for them. The despatches demonstrate, for example, that an East African Prospecting and Mining Leases Board is unnecessary and would be economically inefficient. Similarly the proposal for an autonomous Railways and Harbours Corporation is rejected since it is not agreed that such a body would be any more likely to attract the necessary capital for development than the present Administration.'

'While the territories are to some extent attracted by the proposal for the establishment of a Colonial Transport Development Fund, as a source of transport finance in conditions comparable with the provisions made under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts, their approval is subject to the premise that thereby additional resources would become available for the expansion of East African transport facilities.'

### Immigration and Labour

'There are many issues raised and recommendations made in the Report which are not discussed in this memorandum for the reason that the despatches show how valuable the Governments have found the attention paid to them by the Commission and that they are ready to give expression to their policies to the great majority of the recommendations. On immigration for example the approach of the Commission is to be reflected in new legislation in Tanganyika and Kenya, and in Uganda the existing machinery is regarded as adequate and consonant with the principles which found favour with the Commission. In relation to labour matters all the territorial Governments re-affirm their belief that trade unionism is a valuable and necessary feature of development in this field, while sharing the view of the Commission that the models evolved in the United Kingdom are not necessarily suited to direct transplantation without regard to modifications re-

quired by local circumstances. The chapter in the Report on urban development has clearly proved to be a useful stimulus to thought on the difficult problems involved and here again a general welcome is given to the lines of policy commended by the Commission.' . . .

The barriers to economic expansion identified by the Royal Commission and recognised as such by the Governments cannot in most cases be removed simply by policy changes. The despatches bring out forcibly the hard fact that much which admittedly should be done requires the application of finance on a scale far beyond the present resources and prudent expectation of the Government and the High Commission.'

### Anti-Climax on the Volta

*(Continued from page 4)*

permit, as they certainly permit it at the site of the smelter, though perhaps not at the dam.

The Commission dawdled, trying to puzzle out complicated sociological problems without much success. It ought rather to have reflected on the unfavourable consequences of securing privileged positions for a tiny minority of workers (shades of Abadan) while leaving the penury of the rest of the population unaltered. A little more social feeling would have gone further than a wealth of sociology. One of the most vital long-run tasks of the Volta scheme would have been to raise the overall investment capacity of the country, and thus to lay secure foundations for an overdue process of industrialisation.

Fortunately there will be yet another pause on the Volta to permit yet another team of non-Socialist experts—this time from the World Bank—to 'advise' the Gold Coast Government. It is to be hoped that this further delay will be used to buttress the bargaining position of the Gold Coast by a speedy and energetic investigation of alternative outlets for the electricity thus enabling the Government to obtain reasonable terms from the most powerful monopoly in the world.

**FABIAN COLONIAL BUREAU**

**Week-end School on**

**TRANSFERRING POWER  
IN THE COLONIES**

**Wiston House, Steyning, Sussex**

**November 2nd — 4th**

**Ritchie Calder (Director), R. H. S. Crossman,  
M.P., Mrs. Eirene White, M.P., Orton Chirwa  
(Nyasaland), James Johnson, M.P.**

Details from the Schools Secretary, Fabian  
Society, 11, Dartmouth Street, S.W.1.



# Guide to Books . . .

## The Story of F.A.O.

By Gove Hambidge (Macmillan and Co. 28s.)

THE second Conference of the newly-formed Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations held at Copenhagen in 1946 was a turning point in its history. A struggle was in progress between those who wanted 'a strong body able to take positive steps to foster economic expansion and help prevent disastrous crises,' and those who wanted 'a rather narrowly limited fact-gathering and advisory agency which would be carefully insulated from positive action.' The Director-General of F.A.O., Sir John Boyd-Orr, belonged to the first of these, and, having already, in face of the post-war world food crisis, secured the setting-up of the International Emergency Food Council under F.A.O. management, was now pressing his plan for a World Food Board, 'an international organisation with power to buy, hold, and sell, important agricultural commodities.' Yet in spite of support from Britain's John Strachey and others, and his own considerable personal prestige, the vested interests won, and Boyd-Orr's proposals were rejected.

This decision was one of the most important in the post-war world. Shortly afterwards Boyd-Orr himself, in disillusionment, refused a further term of office. His immediate successors, Viscount Bruce and Norris E. Dodd, tried to win acceptance for his ideas, but with little success. Henceforward the main functions of F.A.O. were confined to the provision of Technical Aid in local agriculture and marketing, and regional conferences on allied subjects. Activity in the commodity field has been confined to situation-appraisal papers which could be, and often have been, ignored. These activities have been of great value, but nonetheless they represent an emasculation of the original grand design.

Since that time there has been a steady drift back to the international price anarchy from which we suffered between the wars, and which is now an increasing source of anxiety to the primary-producing countries of the world. Early this year Mr. Hammarskjöld said that 'the continued inability to make any serious headway with the problem of commodity price stability represented one of the greatest weaknesses in the fabric of international economic co-operation.' The answer of Tory Britain and Republican U.S.A. to this plea was to contract-out, in August last, from the U.N. Commission on International Commodity Trade.

In reading 'The Story of F.A.O.' one expected to find a really authoritative account of these decisive events. Mr. Hambidge, formerly Director of Information, F.A.O., and now North American Regional Representative, obviously has an intimate knowledge of his subject, yet he has given us little on these especially important aspects. It is true that

Part II of the book is devoted to the Organisation's genesis and development. (The quotations above are taken from this section.) But it occupies only one-sixth of the book and much even of this space is taken up with purely ancillary matters. The most important, the crucial, decision that F.A.O. had to take is dealt with superficially and with the minimum of emphasis and detail.

Much the greater part of the book is devoted to an account, region by region, and country by country, of the Technical Aid programme. This, it may be argued, is logical since under present rulings F.A.O. is more or less confined to this field. But the space given it throws the whole book out of balance. Mr. Hambidge has given us in completely uncritical terms an unpalatable catalogue of projects, a sort of high-speed travel documentary with precious little documentation. Important subjects such as the conversion from shifting cultivation, the reform of land-tenure, and the liquidation of agricultural indebtedness, are referred to merely in passing in the context of regional activities. How much better if the whole account of Technical Aid had been broken down into its component subjects with some realistic evaluation of the contribution made. How valuable it would have been to have had some indication of the distribution of expenditure. And would it not have been worthwhile to have included some explanation of the book's silence, Liberia excepted, about Africa south of Sahara, if only to combat the accusation, sometimes heard, that F.A.O. only functions in areas in which the U.S.A. has a strategic interest.

Mr. Hambidge is an uncritical enthusiast and the book for him is obviously a labour of love. Like most U.N. publications it is handsomely presented and well equipped with photographs, bibliography and index. But for all this, to those of us who think of what might have been, it leaves a sense of inadequacy and of an opportunity lost.

T. F. Betts

### Pan-Africanism or Communism?

By George Padmore (Dennis Dobson. 25s.)

George Padmore is a man of strong feelings. Once a communist himself, he is now among those who harbour a violent hate and distrust for the communist movement (though not for what communists are doing in Russia itself). He issues a warning to Africans against communists—always referred to as opportunistic, cynical or treacherous—and has no words bad enough to describe their machinations. At the same time he hates imperialism with a no less deadly passion. Imperialists are always referred to as 'reactionary,' and the socialist parties in imperialist countries are little better in his eyes than



conservatives. There is as little to choose between them as between Tweedledum and Tweedledee. Of course there are individual exceptions, and he gives a rather invidious list of British individuals whom he would recognise as 'friends.' (It is not quite clear whether the Fabian Colonial Bureau qualifies, but I suspect not.) He is also fiercely critical of African tribalism; he has no good word for the National Liberation Movement in the Gold Coast or for Chief Awolowo in Nigeria, though the Kabaka of Buganda is considered progressive.

What, then, does Padmore want? Something he calls Pan-Africanism, which is really another name for African nationalism. Dr. Nkrumah is his ideal of all that is good. And the message is that if independence were granted to all African colonies—a strict time-table being laid down—the threat of communism would be answered. Africans would cease to be exploited, frustrated folk, ready to turn to any promise of salvation; instead they would build up their own new nations, preferably, so he hopes, on a democratic socialist basis.

I, for one, would not quarrel with this vision, though there may be more snags in the way than Padmore admits. But why is it necessary to load an argument with so many outworn clichés, so much unpleasant imputation of motives, so much biased selection of facts to prove the author's point, so much phraseology redolent of the usual Marxist clap-trap? A fund of interesting information has gone into this book (I found particularly interesting the account of all the fluctuations in communist colonial policy over the years), but the book is a trial to read. For Padmore, people are usually only villains or angels and each has a ticket round his neck with his category, enlivened by an appropriate adjective, inscribed.

Rita Hinden

### Turning the Timetables

In Victorian novels about the British Empire there was a constantly recurrent hero. This ethical young man, for reasons of patriotism or religion, would leave his comfortable home and carry on a campaign of moral pioneering in hot, insanitary and sometimes bandit-ridden continents: he would fail in love (at the Viceroy's or Governor's ball or garden-party);

he fought—at times a little priggishly, in words—and sometimes he actually died on the field of battle or in a typhus area.

Now if we examine the heroes of many present-day novels about exiles, ethical adventurers into far-away British territories, men who are prepared to suffer for their race and beliefs, we find that the tables have been turned: just a glance at the book-jackets will tell readers that the hero is a coloured man.

Here are two novels, *A Trick of the Sun* by John St. John (Heinemann, 15s.), and *The Newcomer* by John Sykes (Hurst and Blackett, 11s. 6d.) Both dust-covers depict those earnest and dreamy coloured faces which are now so familiar: the main characters are different in certain ways, but they have two things in common—they both come from Africa and they both come to England. Their mutual enemies are snobs and the cold. These two books are microcosms of several which are published today about what is called 'the colour problem.' Edmund in Mr. St. John's book has a mixed reception and makes contact with upper-class relations and the Law. Joseph Mbagawa, the Newcomer, is more serious and moves in a different milieu. These are both kind novels, making an attempt to convey understanding and ending in hope. Perhaps the answer to a question—what are the ethical Englishmen doing while the coloured men become the explorers and heroes?—is partly this: they are writing novels about the new adventurers.

Mercedes Mackay in *Shining Trouble* (Heinemann, 15s.) attacks the race problem in a different setting, at a workmanlike pace full of practical detail of Diggers' lives in Central Africa. She tells of what comes to those multi-coloured types who seek gold—the 'shining trouble' of her novel. This is a tough book, but its characters' cupidity and stupidity are treated with comprehension, and the African hero's end is fittingly related.

P. S. A.

### Bulk Purchase and the Colonies

Publication of this pamphlet which was advertised in the July issue of *Venture* as being ready in September, has been postponed to November.

### CONTENTS OF THIS NUMBER

For Reference	October, 1956
<i>Comment—</i>	
Lost Opportunity in Cyprus - - - -	1
The Governor of Uganda - - - -	2
Corruption in the Gold Coast - - - -	3
A Caribbean Federal Party - - - -	3
Anti-Climax on the Volta by Thomas Balogh - -	4
Workers in Fiji by Nand Kishor - - - -	5
The Growing Crisis in Central Africa by Mary Winchester - - - -	6
The Gambia To-day by James Johnson, M.P. - -	8
East Africa Royal Commission Report—summary -	9
Guide to Books - - - -	11

**FABIAN**  
**COLONIAL BUREAU**  
 11 Dartmouth Street, London, SW1  
 Annual Subscription to Bureau . . 20s.  
 (including *Venture*)  
 Full-time Students' Subscription . 10s.  
 Annual Subscription to *Venture* only 7/6d.  
 Further details of membership from the Secretary